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forces, although here the interaction of the basic personality structure on the cultural institutions has not been worked out satisfactorily. His methodology of culture analysis on the criteria of security systems, sexual controls, points of tension, satisfaction of dependency cravings, social disciplines, fantasy gratification provides possible and feasible 'pegs' for constellations of human behaviour. It also provides a scope for a better understanding of certain universal features of culture, such as dreams and folklore, in a functional way, by establishing their linkage with other cultural constellations.[1] Thus, in this work, many of Kardiner's constructs have been utilized for the explanation of certain aspects of our data, especially in connection with folk and children's tales, dreams, food anxieties, and sexual behaviour.

The field methods used in this study are those of the current anthropological repertory depending mainly on hearing and seeing through participant observation, informants, and asking questions of many adults and children on certain problems and to check data given by informants.[2] For information about children, the Kuttabs and the elementary school were available centres together with a 'children's hour' organized in the writer's house to which children between seven and twelve years old came on three occasions. It was impossible to stimulate adolescent interest in such a gathering, partly because of their economic responsibilities, and partly because of their excessive shyness and reserve, and this perhaps accounts for the thinness of our observations concerning this age group. Intelligence tests, Stewart Emotional Response, Moral Ideology, Story Completion and Rorschach tests, were administered to children, with the exception of the last test which included adults as well.

A preliminary statement about the choice of certain psychological tests is necessary here to indicate the extent of their relevance to our study. The Moral Ideology, the Emotional Response, and the Story Completion tests are intended to reveal some of the norms and the attitudes which children acquire at various stages of development and some of their

as restricting individual impulses for the purposes of social adaptation. See Malinowski, *Freedom and Civilization*, London, 1947, p. 31. Freud has emphasized the inhibitory and restrictive forces of culture (Super-Ego). See his book *Civilization and its Discontents*.

[1] For criticisms of the Kardiner-Linton approach see S. F. Nadel, *Foundations of Social Anthropology*, pp. 403–8; Henry Ozanne, 'Synthesis in Social Sciences', in *Sociometry*, Vol. VIII, 1945, pp. 208–15, where he maintains that Kardiner's interpretations of the primitive cultures studied, though feasible and meaningful, are only possible explanations and are not necessarily ones arising from the material concerned. As a psychologist he, like some anthropologists, objects to the superimposition of psychological categories, conceptualized in terms of the individual, on sociology, which conceptualizes in terms of the group. See also L. M. Hanks in his review of Kardiner, 'The Individual and His Society', *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. XII, 1940, p. 475, where he emphasizes the importance of behaviour and attitudes falling outside the range defined by institutional behaviour.

[2] For an assessment of my informants, see Appendix I. See also Audrey T. Richards, 'The Development of Field Work Methods in Social Anthropology', in *The Study of Society*, ed. by F. C. Bartlett, London, 1939.

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125 reactions and sentiments for different situations. These tests are also expected to draw the attention of the field worker to data which otherwise might escape his notice.

The Projective Test of the Rorschach Ink Blots is growing in popularity as a technique in field work especially amongst those anthropologists who are concerned with the relations between culture and personality. The test is intended to reveal 'the basic organization of the personality structure, including the fundamental affective and cognitive features of mental life'.[1] In spite of many difficulties and limitations in applying such a test, some Rorschach researchers, working with anthropologists, have noted that the principles of the test could be applied with some validity in cross-cultural situations.[2]

Our purpose in administering Intelligence tests was not primarily for inter-group comparisons, but mainly to elicit information regarding the mental 'orientation' characteristic of the group. Three types of tests were selected, verbal (Kabbani's test for primary school children), a paper and pencil test (Porteus Maze), and a practical performance test (Alexander's pass-along). The assumption is that the significant differences in the score of these tests would be considered as different adjustment to different test material and situations. This could be legitimately regarded as reflection of specific qualitative factors of culture, and culturally determined forms of intelligence. In a study of the effects of culture upon children's thoughts and actions, these data are deemed relevant to our purposes.[3]

124 Our methods lack the sociological depth afforded by the gathering of life histories, and intensive case studies of families and individuals supplementing a more diffused and general study of a greater number of individuals. Resistance was expected and encountered in such attempts, even with my informants as shown in Appendix I. Various reasons can be given for such resistance. They were ill at ease at doing things for research, reluctant to engage in an activity which might be considered as dangerous gossip, especially when recorded on paper, and might reach official circles. [156] Their attitude is that personal problems should be 'covered' and not 'exposed' to others. Perhaps their interest was not sufficiently stimulated, for they would ask me, 'And what is the use of all this to us?' It became 123 obvious to me during my field work that in order to get the full co-operation of the people for such research, it was necessary to be able to help them in their everyday problems. One villager expressed this in a candid way: 'You must now be useful to us as we have been helpful to you.' A similar observation has been made by Oscar Lewis, who advocates, on the basis of his experience in Tepoztlan, the combination of research

[1] B. Klopfer and D. Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique*, New York, 1946 edition, p. ix.
[2] Cora du Bois, *The People of Alor*, University of Minnesota Press, 1944, p. 589.
[3] S. Nadel, 'The Application of Intelligence Tests in the Anthropological Field', in *The Study of Society*, pp. 184–97. For a full account of these tests and their application and findings, see Appendices.

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and service programmes as an excellent way of integrating the fields of both applied and theoretical Anthropology.[1] This constraint and fear of divulging personal information could be also attributed to the vulnerability of the villagers' ego-structure, to which we shall refer later.[2]

What relevance have such assumptions and approach to a study in education? A great part of the answer to such a question must be obvious by now. If education, in its broadest sense, is the process of transmitting the cultural contents, values, attitudes, and the body of technical and social experience from one generation to another, surely the sociological approach is of the greatest value in educational research and educational policies. As Sir Fred Clarke expressed it, culture is the whole life-medium, and not the background with which education is concerned.[3] Formal educational institutions, from schools to universities, are only one transmissive agent of any nation's 'way of life'. Our approach does not preclude the assumption that they are amongst the most efficient means of such transmission or that they are also a potent force in effecting social change. Here we are mainly concerned with education as the means of cultural continuity, of building social solidarity and cohesion. It is probably because of uncritical faith in schools and other formal educational institutions that this transmissive role of education has been ignored. This is vaguely felt when some educationists go to the extreme and advocate leaving children absolutely free for the development of their peculiarities of interest and behaviour. Such are rightly designated as cranks. Apart from those who entertain the ideas of Rousseau's Emile, 'we are well aware that children learn their patterns of social behaviour, their ideas on family life and earning a living, their value systems in relation to social and economic life, far more extensively and intensively outside school than inside'.[4] Society thus keeps itself as a going concern by educating its individuals to its established and time-tested ways of believing, feeling, thinking, and reacting for purposes of social action.[5]

Looking at education from this viewpoint may perhaps be disheartening to those educational planners and administrators who are anxious to go

[1] Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village*, Introduction, p. xv.

[2] Differences between cultures are also reflected in the varying ease with which field workers could procure life-histories. This point was brought to my attention by Cora du Bois who mentioned to me the striking difference in this connection between the flow of the Navaho and the constraint of the Alorese. Of course, my informants, being related to me, would not have accepted money, but perhaps other services. In such a community, people would not accept financial recompense for information given to one from the village itself. In case of an outsider, such payment might be a good incentive in a community which jealously guards against the divulging of personal and family privacies. For motivation of informants see S. F. Nadel, 'The Interview in Social Anthropology', in *The Study of Society*, ed. by F. C. Bartlett.

[3] Sir Fred Clarke, *Freedom in the Educative Society*, London, 1948.

[4] Paper read by M. Read before the Education Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Edinburgh, August, 1951.

[5] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*, New York, 1949, p. 188.

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are almost hereditary, learnt by son from father or uncle. Parents who have land afford their children no other opportunity but of working on it, and they endeavour to keep them on the farm.

Ali maintained that 'agriculture is the best occupation and the most dignified of all, an occupation which is worth while following. Apart from aliens, there is no man who is not a farmer, and no woman who is not a housekeeper and a cook. A man cooking or sewing or a woman ploughing or irrigating the land is something unheard of in our village. Indeed, one of the reasons for marriage is the fact that some of the tasks are performed only by a woman, and there must be a woman to do them as there always has been. Very few of our women have travelled by train, and if so, chiefly to visit relatives in town or shrines of saints, while a much greater number of men go to town on private or official visits.' This statement shows clearly the rigid sex-distribution in occupation. Furthermore, farming, especially one's own land, is the most esteemed occupation for men, and it is only necessity that forces others to be engaged in any other occupation.[1] This attitude of mind renders the possibility of establishing an industry or craft in the village very difficult. The prestige attached to the possession of land is very great. A wealthy merchant is not socially on par with a farm-owner. Farm-earnings are the most meritorious of all earnings; in other words, they are the surest of all 'halal' earnings—legitimately deserved and thus divinely approved. In farming, one is grappling directly with nature and getting the produce out of the soil's depths, depending on or contacting no other human beings, whom one might oppress or be oppressed by. One has only to sow the seeds and attend to them and God will look after the rest. The same attitude of 'halal' earnings applies to fishing, breeding cows or raising sheep, where the results solely depend on one's treatment and dealing with the object to be attended to. Thus, according to Ali, 'the evils of man are avoided'. This is certainly a fabricated religious justification or rationalization of the most secure source of livelihood in this rural society. The statement of my informant shows, however, the psychological anxiety that is bound up with economic insecurity, especially in ventures that entail any dealing with people or involving human contacts.

It is also significant that to acquire land through inheritance as distinguished from buying it, is to be stamped with the hallmark of prestige and prosperity. To be called 'heir to land' means good origin and good status in the village.

The reasons for the social importance of land and the emotional attachment to it are not difficult to seek. Economically speaking, land for generations has been the tangible bulwark against starvation and insecurity; it never fails to give reward for its cultivation, and thus it is a permanent property 'better than gold'. This analogy is derived from a well-known folk-tale about a father who had two sons, bequeathing to the favourite

[1] There appears to be no supporting evidence for this esteem either in folklore or in proverbs. There is nothing in the text of the Koran to that effect.

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mitting adultery is motivated by emulation', 'Make your harvest look big, otherwise your enemies will rejoice'.[1]

The pride in the family unity and name is associated with its labour on the land. One can see the effect of the driving motive of emulation in the appearance of the outer sections nearer to the road or to the canal. Special attention is always given to these sections, as they are usually the most elevated and best cultivated sections of the land. The main ideal for which every family strives is to be 'mastourah', which literally means to be covered, or, in other words, to be balanced and publicly approved and not exposed to outside shaming. The special attention given to the outer sections of the field would at least rid the farmer of shame, if the rest of his field were not properly cultivated. Esteem and honour are accorded by the villagers to those who have made a success of their farming, and this is usually mixed up with a feeling of envy. To be an industrious farmer attending to his business is a good qualification for a youth about to get married, while slothfulness militates against his chances. Parents stimulate their sons of marriageable age to work hard as an incentive for their marriage as early as possible.

In a discussion of livelihood in the village, an evaluation of the standard of living is a necessary step for the full appreciation of the villagers' life. It has been made clear by anthropologists that the standard of living is not only a matter of production and consumption, but equally depends on the cultural values that govern these processes. 'In no society do we find people consuming whatever comes to hand or producing the minimum necessary for existence with the least possible effort. Man is a rational being, and hence there are reasons to be discovered for his choice of food and clothing and for the efforts which he makes to produce the objects of his choice.'[2] These cultural premises are implicit in every society, determining, to a great extent, the ways in which individuals handle their 'material culture'.[3]

In the previous pages reference has been made to some of the social incentives for work, but accumulation of wealth has not been included. For contentment with what one possesses, as predestined by God, is the keynote of the villagers' happiness. In some dwellings and guest houses this ideal is written on the wall, 'Contentment is an inexhaustible treasure'. One should not amass wealth, but should spend it in pious acts, otherwise, according to the Koran, as Ali recited, 'With the gold and silver a man accumulates he would be seared on the forehead, on the side, and on the

[1] A popular story is told about a jealous farmer whose neighbour enquired from him about the amount of fertilizer he distributed in every section (hod). He told him that he usually put two basketfuls; and thus the neighbour followed his advice. But later on the latter found that his cultivation was not as good as that of the farmer, and discovered that it was due to the fact that his neighbour used to distribute three baskets, and not two as he had told him.

[2] Margaret Read, *Native Standards of Living and the African Culture Change*, p. 11.

[3] For a quantitative assessment of the standard of living in Silwa, see Appendix III.

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ancestry. Marriage outside the stock must be with those who can claim an equally holy descent.

The second important norm that governs the whole social structure is the weight and respect given to, and the authority wielded by, the person who plays the role of the senior, normally chosen on age basis as well as on capacity to speak and argue well, besides other factors such as economic status and social prestige. This pattern which, in the smallest unit, is the authority of the father is extended to the oldest capable member of the extended family, to the head of the clan, and to the village councils that congregate spontaneously, having no formal composition.

The third aspect which asserts itself in the various units of the social structure is the feeling of fellowship. The individual finds himself consciously or unconsciously merged into the group. Starting in this case with the largest unit of G'afra as a whole, one is not surprised to find that no elaborate electioneering campaign is required to persuade the G'afra villages to vote for the candidate who belongs to their stock. In fact, the same candidate for Silwa constituency (including the town of Edfu) has won the last three elections with a sweeping majority, irrespective of the political views of his opponents. Throughout the whole of Silwa region, the opposing candidate had never secured more than a hundred votes out of at least three thousand. The rule is that the people of Silwa should vote for their 'paternal cousin'. Yet in the last elections another candidate from the G'afra, the official holder of the ancestry register and a religious man whose grandfather was the leader in the mystic order of the village, stood for the elections to compete with the previous member.[1] The reason for that, I was told, is that they once had a heated argument as to whose father was the more respected and honoured man amongst the G'afra. It was also generally believed that the new candidate was encouraged by the 'Ababda. The G'afra split their votes between the two, neither thereby winning the elections. This is strong evidence that kinship relations, and not party politics, decide the issue of the elections in this community.

On the clan level, the sentiment of fellowship shows itself in all the activities connected with the guest house. Suppose a distinguished guest has come to the guest house, e.g. a well-known religious man, or a man with social prestige from a neighbouring town; it is not only one man who receives him, but as many as possible of the heads of the extended families of the clan; and he might be invited by more than one clan. The money for the slain ram (dabiha) is collected from the heads of the families and called 'firda'-spread. The meal is cooked, each family providing its bread; meat and vegetables are provided from the 'common pot', and then they take their round trays to the guest house. The same happens with tea. Clan fellowship takes place during the night entertainments that are held

[1] In Silwa there is a strong connection between political authority and religious authority. This theme has been brought out clearly in E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, O.U.P., 1949.

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during the month of Ramadan, when families co-operate in providing the 'Koran reciter' as well as other guests with tea and food.

Identification with the clan sentiment shows itself in cases of murder, where the clans of both the murderer and the murdered are involved. It is the obligation of the father, son, brother, uncle or paternal cousin to call for vengeance and for the clan to support him, either by claiming compensation (which, however, is seldom accepted if the claim is acknowledged) or by counter-murder, as the Koran ordains that murder should be punished with murder. The two clans through the mediation of another clan have to settle the dispute by deciding the compensation, called 'dia'.

This is no Durkheimian merging of the individual into the group. It is simply a statement of the compelling moral law that the individual, to be in line with the group, should express group-sympathy; if the group is angry, he should be angry, if it is insulted, he must feel that he is insulted.

This pattern of social structure does not apply merely to the Silwa community and the G'afra, but applies in varying degrees to the whole province of Aswan, and many other provinces that are known to the writer in Upper Egypt. In all this, the bond of common descent and family connections is one of the strongest factors as well as the most socially effective force in the social structure.

The village could also be classified into social groups on the basis of age. From the standpoint of age there are three broad social groupings. The first is referred to as 'youngsters' (jahhal), including all boys and girls up to the age of twelve or thirteen years. The second is the unmarried group (fityan), and the third is represented by the married adults, referred to as 'men or women'.

In public there is no free mixing between these three categories as it is considered 'impolite' for a youngster to sit with men, for example, and the converse would be shameful. Youngsters can only be seen in an adult gathering serving tea, or holding the ablution laver and ewer, or as messengers. In the case of young boys, they are marked by their head cap, while unmarried boys wear a turban, and the men besides a turban wear a 'tob' which is a black outer garment, and usually carry a stick or a stave.

Apart from segregation and dress, the age criterion shows itself in outward behaviour, by considering the older people as equivalent to the paternal uncle, or as fathers, or grandfathers if they are very old. Often older people are addressed by the kinship term 'Ammy' (O my paternal uncle), especially if one wants to be 'polite'. If one does not use the kinship term one has to address the older person by the title 'Sheikh' preceding his first name.

Sex is another criterion for two definite social groups: the world of men, and the world of women. In this community it is unthinkable to have free mixing between the two worlds, or that a thing done by one sex can also be done by a member of the other sex. Men have their scope of activities either in the fields or outside the compound, the women are mainly con-

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834 tions, and an old woman can pass by a group of men without covering her face, and can salute them, or talk to them on passing, but even then she cannot sit with men outside the house.

INTER-FAMILY RELATIONS

593 It is appropriate here to discuss the stylized norms of relationship and behaviour that should obtain between the various members of the family as an index to the understanding of the social structure and its functioning.

The husband-wife pattern is one where the husband is the superior partner and enjoys the highest position in the family. He is, as the saying goes, 'the supporting pillar and the vantage of the house', who is expected to make all the important decisions. The wife should tell her husband of the major events in the household, though he should not by convention betray any eagerness in enquiring about them. The husband is socially responsible for the acts and undertakings of his wife, immediately she moves from her matrilocal residence. He usually plans the work of his sons, while the wife does the same with the daughters; but he is not expected to interfere with his wife's domestic work. On the other hand, the wife is supposed to be submissive, devoted, and respectful to her husband. Sexual fidelity is the hallmark of sustained marriage relationship, as infidelity entails at least divorce, if not attempting to kill the wife and the paramour. As a wife, she should also attend to her husband, offering the best food to him rather than to the children or herself; the reason being that she can always have children but she cannot afford to have a substitute for her supporter (sanad). She should open the door for her husband when he knocks, pour out the water when he washes his hands after the meal, and give him priority in every respect.

Although the wife seems subordinate in this pattern of relationship, she is almost the absolute manager of the house. She is the treasurer of the crops, money, legal documents, and the holder of the keys to the various chests in the house. If the man is expected to be generous and showy, the wife is expected to be frugal and industrious. The saying is that 'the man is like an overflowing sea, while the woman is like a dyke, checking his undue extravagance'. It is also conceded that the building up of a man is due to his wife, but so is his downfall, which would be regarded as the result of his wife's domestic policy.

In spite of the fact that married women do not work in the field in Silwa and in most parts of Aswan Province, the wife certainly monopolizes certain economic pursuits which are considered to be purely her domain. She raises chickens, geese, ducks, goats and sheep, and men recognize this as a purely female occupation. This is in contrast to the raising of cows, camels and donkeys by men. My informant, Mahmoud, told me: 'Women look after the "small change" while men look after the pounds.' The wife raises poultry and tends to small change as these are directly concerned

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about them without going into any argument. The Karamsha, however, who were the accusers, opposed the suggestion and insisted on their case being heard, and consequently their rights being acknowledged. The argument was stated by the head of the Karamsha speaking and being interrupted by members of the disputing house here and there, as well as by members of his house. Then Hag Ahmad 'Imran began to defend his case, and then free argument took place.

One of the most effective devices in the Arab councils is the so-called 'mulakah' (a getting together), where on any dilemma in the course of argument, one or two persons from the mediators take one person or more from the disputing sides for a 'mulakah' to persuade him in a corner, or another room away from the general meeting, through personal and more intimate hearing to follow what the mediators proposed. Their usual form of pressure is to appeal to the person to 'consider the Arabs, or the people, or his kinsfolk'. The idea behind this device is to avoid any personal embarrassment or retreat in public, as this brings shame ('ar). If the retreat is accepted on a more intimate level, then the person has retreated owing to the pressure brought upon him because of personal ties or to his considerations to the 'Arabs', yet such a formulation of retreat is only implicit.

However, the 'mulakah' which occurred three times during the meeting did not produce the required effects. The Hasaballab, the arbitrating clan, had then to go outside by themselves to agree on 'the rights of the Arabs which no one now should fear to declare'.

The formulation of the verdict is very interesting as an index of the functioning elements of the social structure. The Hasaballab declared two decisions; the first was that Hag Ahmad 'Imran committed a double wrong by slapping 'Othman the camel-driver, and by not preventing, even by slapping, his son from getting entangled with 'Othman. The second decision was that the clan of 'Amrab, to which the two disputing families belong, had committed a mistake by not mediating between the two families in due time.

As the disputants are morally compelled to accept the arbitration of whoever they agree upon to take this part, the 'Amareen had to shake hands with the Karamsha, followed by all present reading the Fatiha.

Yet this was not the end of everything in this Arab council. Hag Ahmad 'Imran, feeling that injustice had been done to him, immediately declared that he 'claimed rights from Hasaballab', meaning that he wanted to sue the arbitrating clan before another clan, a charge which they have to accept. The case now is between the 'Amareen and the Hasaballab, and they both agreed to appoint the 'Awadallab clan in the neighbouring village to take up the arbitration between them.[1] If the Hasaballab's verdict is considered unjust, they have to pay the 'Amareen

[1] If any clan or family is appealed to by both disputing parties for arbitration, it cannot refuse to act.

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endless friction, disputes, and uneasy relations occur. Brother is pitted against brother, father against son, mother against daughter, and so on between the various other categories of relatives. In fact, some of the popular sayings indicate that the relation between kin is pregnant with friction and discord. It is said that 'relatives are like scorpions', 'the relative's pot never reaches the boiling point' and 'who brings disasters but relatives?'. It is also indicative of the uneasy side of connections between relatives to hear that it is from the relatives more than others that one should guard against the effects of the evil eye.

The 'in-law' relationship also plays an important part in the harmony or discord that pervades a family atmosphere. Whether brothers live together as one economic unit, or whether a father 'repulses' his married son, depends to a great extent on the congeniality of the brother's wives, or the son's wife and her people. In this particular context, the conflict is usually one between the structurally sanctioned behaviour between the brothers and the new situation created by marriage and children to two different women. Thus ideally brothers should marry sisters to minimize disputes over the children or domestic affairs, and this is probably one of the reasons for the preferential marriage of cousins. In the case of a married son, the parents have priority over the wife and her people, as descent is the structural keynote to behaviour in this situation.

Indeed a great deal of friction and uneasiness in relationship is due to the fact that the individual in some situations is unable to strike a balance between the structural behaviour on one hand, and the exigencies of life and personal feelings on the other hand. A great deal of the diffused and overt aggression that is prevalent in this community is partly due to the 'bottling up' of personal and spontaneous feeling, or at least to the very limited scope for its outlet or for its direct expression in action.

A few examples of disputes, illustrating this point can be given. Two brothers were married to two sisters, and were living in one compound working together, and forming an economic unit. The wife of the younger brother died, and he remarried a girl who was unrelated to the brother's wife. Immediately intrigues and friction arose, and the two brothers had to separate. The friction cropped up again when the older brother got his daughter married to a cousin of theirs, while his brother had a boy who was considered socially more eligible because he was the girl's cousin through both father and mother. This event brought the brothers to non-speaking terms and 'Arabs' tried twice to reconcile them, but met with no success.

Another interesting case was of a father suing his son before the court and trying to denounce him as his son. The cause was the rage of the father alleging that his son had made himself a nuisance in the village by his gossip, his writing of complaints against people to the official authorities in the central government, and on top of that, he had married without the father's approval.

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Thus it is obvious that most of the Government institutions have not yielded the results expected from them in the village. So far the health unit, the agricultural bank, and the compulsory school have proved to be failures. This is mainly attributed to the lack of co-operation from the villagers as a result of the clash between their traditional views and practices and the new institutions, the purposes of which have never been explained or made comprehensible to the villagers.

It is appropriate here also to mention the ideal of hospitality which has been affected by the process of social change. The villagers regret the waning of the idea of hospitality defined in terms of ability to render it when the occasion arises. Hospitality is conceived also in terms of offering food to guests, relatives, or casual *en route* visitors to the village. It also involves distributing wealth on ceremonial occasions such as circumcision and wedding, the failure of which would subject a person to severe criticism. To be able to conform to these standards is one of the chief attributes of authority, prestige, self-respect, and social recognition. The ideal personality type, alongside with the pious man, is the hospitable man. The common saying runs: 'He who is hospitable will never suffer in this world.' The hospitable person should offer without being asked, and should insist when the receiver is reluctant to accept; otherwise his hospitality is like that of the boatmen—who, being uncertain of their food resources, cannot be hospitable. By offering hospitality a person in fact creates bonds between himself and the partakers, where the latter respond in terms of respect, service, reciprocal hospitality, or at least prayers, in the case of the poor. The ideal is certainly that of giving away, and not of accumulating. Those who accumulate without giving are described as 'rotting', or like the 'cord that holds the knickers'—implying that they are insignificant and socially unworthy of recognition.

This gradual dwindling of hospitality, so much deplored by the villagers, is mainly due to the fact that there are few families in the village who can afford to adopt the traditional ideal. This is certainly a result of the change in the economic structure of the village due to the constant division of land and the increase in population. Moreover, with increasing contacts with city ways, the villagers are more aware of the importance of money and the personal benefits derived from its purchasing power; and the recognition attached to hospitality, though upheld and valued as an ideal, is offset by the new acquisitive spirit. In this connection, my informant, Ali, told me that in the good old days if a visitor expressed his appreciation of an object or a utensil, the host usually offered it to him, but this is no longer the general rule. The spirit, however, still persists in the case of a woman visitor who, for instance, admires the tea offered to

there developed, in the 9th and 10th centuries, the banking institutions and commercial customs which were to become those of Europe, and which are quite inconsistent with the Quranic Law'. *Muslim Institutions* (translated from the French), London, 1950, pp. 190–1.

BIRTH, INFANCY AND EARLY TRAINING

pride in the number of my followers in comparison with those of other nations". If sons and daughters behave uprightly they will act as a means of redeeming the parents' sin. Any good action by the child, e.g. giving alms, helping the weak, digging a well, would also benefit the parents. Parents who have left unworthy children have left "dust" behind.'

My informant went on to say: 'Children are the glory of this world, as the Koran says "Money and children are the joy of this life". Another statement of the Koran says: "God give us a good thing in this world and a good thing in the next world". The Koran interpreters consider that, in this context, "the good thing of this world" implies children. Children are also referred to as sowing seeds, as it is through these seeds that the corn reproduces itself.'

As for the wife, she attains her proper status only as a mother, and a childless woman is in an insecure position, as her husband is socially justified in remarrying, to have children. For a newly-married couple to have a child is a step towards partaking of some individuality in the larger family circle. The wife is referred to as 'mother of the children' and whenever a man is asked about his wife, she is frequently referred to also as the 'mother of the first-born boy' and the same applies also to the father, and this reference is more common in public gatherings.

My informant, Mahmoud, told me that there were ten childless women in the village and that they were therefore known by everybody. Out of these ten, two were living with husbands who had taken a second wife. He continued, 'A childless woman is usually like a she-camel who does not conceive, puts on more and more flesh, and gets younger every day—but not fruitful, as she can never "lengthen" her husband's neck amongst the menfolk. She is a sore eye to her family. The proper woman is the one who is an "envelope for conception".' It is not strange, then, that a fat woman is a desirable ideal, as she has more room to bear the child, lactates abundantly and gives more warmth to her children.

It is appropriate here to discuss the differential value of boys and girls in Silwa. The importance of the boys' work in the fields as a major contribution to the family's means of subsistence was discussed earlier. Moreover, the boys are considered to be the best capital investment for ageing parents. They are expected to form the basis for social and economic security, not only for their parents, but also for any widowed sisters. This duty to support their parents or those female relatives who have no other man to support them is legally enforced by the religious courts. This question gives rise to endless disputes; one hears of parents suing their children for support according to their means, or at least threatening to sue them. No such obligations devolve on the daughters, as they are wives of their husbands, and no claim can be made against them.

Boys are also an added qualification for social prestige. A man with more sons backing him up can always speak with more authority and ranks high in the community's esteem even if he owns less land. Fathers who have

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the first two ceremonies, in covering the expenses incurred during the celebrations. It is known by the villagers that on such occasions one usually gains financially, as the person who is celebrating is paid back on one evening all that he had invested previously at different times, and thus it is a time for getting back one's savings.[1] Such reciprocal aid in these ceremonies does not make such enterprises a burdensome task in Silwa and in many other villages in the province of Aswan. This is different from the conditions obtaining in the province of Sharqiya. In 1940 Dr. Abbas Ammar reported that 11·8 of the indebtedness of the people of Sharqiya was due to expenses incurred on wedding celebrations.[2]

One often reads outright condemnation of such ceremonial celebrations which make many a fellah fall into debt. It must be remembered that the desire for the prestige connected with a sense of plenty as expressed in feasts and ceremonies is a natural human tendency. In this connection Freud says: 'A festival is a permitted, or rather an obligatory, excess, a solemn breach of a prohibition. . . . It is not that men commit the excess because they are feeling happy as a result of an injunction they have received. It is rather that excess is of the essence of a festival; the festive feeling is produced by the liberty to do what is as a rule prohibited.'[3]

It is not so important here whether one accepts Freud's argument or not; what is more vital is to realize that such ceremonial occasions provide the fellaheen with a healthy scope for the expressive elements in human behaviour and life in general, without which existence would become monotonous. To view such celebrations only as one of the main causes of the fellah's indebtedness, as some social reformers in Egypt do, ignores the social framework of valuations. Such ceremonies of circumcision, weddings, funerals, are occasions where the community gives reality to some of its social ideals and practices. They also act as a social mode of catharsis for the family and the individual concerned through which they acquire and satisfy what social psychologists call the 'sense of belonging' and the demands of group loyalty and morality.[4]

There is no doubt that the circumcision ceremony is a formal occasion for introducing the child into the wider circle of family relatives and to the whole village. This occasion is taken to express bonds of blood, affinal or friendly relationships between the family of the circumcised boy and other families. It is interesting to note that the boy's mother is the first and only female contributor in the announcement ceremony, and her contribution of corn, dates and sugar goes to the announcer. Other close relatives such as an uncle, or grandfather, have also to contribute on this

[1] This reminds the writer of one of Malinowski's findings showing that the ceremonial treatment of certain aspects of life, e.g. sex, crises of human existence, are more than the assertion of their social significance but also have a pragmatic value.

[2] Abbas M. Ammar, 'The People of Sharqiya', Ph.D. Thesis (Manchester University), 1940, pp. 428, 429.

[3] S. Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, London, 1950.

[4] See S. F. Nadel, *Foundations of Social Anthropology*, pp. 343–4.

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THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS AND EVENTS OF CHILDHOOD

851 852 867 The alignment of the child with its sex could be also inferred from the fact that during the ceremony the boy wears a girl's headcloth, symbolizing his last chance of indulging in any activity which is not deemed fit for males.[1] This influence has been brought to the writer's mind by the barber's comment; while wrapping the headcloth round the boy's neck, he says: 'Let us put this female cloth around you, and by making you look like a girl tonight, you will be able to avert the evil eye.' This is also obvious in the expected behaviour of the boys not to cry or show any signs [152] of pain during the operation, in order to whiten the father's face, while the girls in contrast are expected and allowed to cry. That the difference in the expectation is due to the fact that the girl's operation is more painful than that of the boy, and hence justifiable, is one way of looking at it, but it is undoubtedly a reflection of the expected ethos of the two [156] sexes.[2] Endurance of pain is a heroic action of the male, while crying and weeping is only expected from women. The difference of 'ethos' between [149] the two sexes reflects itself also in their public attitudes towards a person's death. While the men solemnly gather in the guest house for the obsequies, [152] and public demonstration of weeping is only expected from them on their return journey to the guest house after the burial, the women express their grief in almost hysterical weeping, wailing and dirging.

852 154 During the circumcision ceremony the boy's aggression is however allowed to express itself during the procession that follows the operation, as while he is carried on his way to the mosque and the Nile, he is allowed to break an egg by throwing it at any person in the procession. On the other hand, the girl is given free scope in crying, screaming and asking for help.

852 585 One cannot fail to see the connection between circumcision and marriage, the former being a preparation for the latter, and the similarities between the public celebration of the two events are striking, as will be shown later in discussing the marriage ceremony. A circumcised boy or girl is normally referred to as 'bridegroom' or 'bride' in anticipation of their future role in life. The connection between circumcision and marriage is also obvious from beliefs and rituals common to both events; the circumcised boy as well as the bridegroom must visit the mosque or gaze on the Nile. The belief is that on his or her circumcision or wedding, a person could be deprived of fertility and potency, and hence great care [754] must be taken to avoid the evil eye, and to avoid those who are sterile and desire fertility, who may well seize the opportunity to use or cross over 854 the circumcised or married man's instruments and clothes. The connec- 842 tion between circumcision and fertility could be also inferred from the

[1] Edward Lane mentions that during his time boys used to be dressed in girls' garments in the circumcision ceremony. *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 59.

[2] The word 'ethos' here is used in the sense in which Bateson has defined it as 'the culturally standardized system of organization of the instincts and the emotions of individuals'. Naven, p. 220.

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THE AIMS AND METHODS OF SOCIALIZATION IN SILWA

It does not require any emphasis here to point out that the effects of these techniques of fear as forcing children to resort to lies and deception are reflected later in the prevailing atmosphere of adult life which is charged with suspicion, secrecy and apprehension. Fear, moreover, is an efficient lever for the maintenance of social cohesion in the pattern of father-son relationship, and hence it is not surprising to find the common saying that 'fear is a blissful thing' (al khof baraka).

The popular sayings connected with the administering of punishment are also varied and inconsistent, perhaps to maintain a balance and to avoid excess. On the one hand one hears phrases such as 'If you don't beat the child, nothing good would come out of him', 'The stick is for the disobedient', 'Those who do not feel, the stick would make them feel'. On the other hand, there are other sayings such as 'The stick makes the boy dumb'. 'The threat would have no effect on those who do not obey spontaneously', It is considered, however, that childhood is the most appropriate period for punishing and disciplining the child. It is said that the child during this time is like the maize plant in its second irrigation (this irrigation is considered to be important for the plant's growth and is preceded by the pulling out of the grass and other weeds). The concentration of punishment at this period is justified on the grounds that the boy or the girl at this stage is neither too young nor too old to learn. The only form of corporal punishment administered to adolescents on some rare occasions is slapping.

However, the administering of punishment by parents to children is checked from being unduly excessive by other relatives, neighbours or other adults who happen to be present. Mediation (literally separation—'hajazat') as institutionalized in the 'Arab council' is an important force in the legal and social functioning of the community.[1] It is practised by children themselves and even mock fights are sometimes played by them to enjoy the wranglings of conciliation similar to those amongst the adults. Some children told me that on seeing their parents quarrelling, they immediately go out of the house to invite one of their close relatives for mediation. Adults are also expected to stop children's fights if they happen to be passing by, and even punish the disputants.[2]

It is appropriate here to evaluate the period of childhood in Silwa, in comparison with their period of infancy. With the exception of observing sex and religious norms, childhood in Silwa is the period through which a boy or a girl experiences a great number of the pressures of socialization. Some modern anthropologists have pointed out the importance of discontinuities or inconsistencies in child-rearing practices as relevant cultural data especially in connection with personality organization.[3] Esther Goldfrank, for instance, postulates four categories of societies with regard to

[1] See Chapter II. [2] See Appendix X, 'Story Completion'.
[3] Ruth Benedict, 'Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning', in *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*, ed. by Kluckhohn and Murray, p. 414.

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CHILDREN'S TALES, THEIR TEXTS, ANALYSIS AND SIGNIFICANCE

On encountering in the folklore a constellation like the Oedipus situation, it is more profitable, instead of immediately recognizing 'a universal Oedipus complex', biologically determined, to proceed 'to examine the conditions in the actual experience of the individual, which contribute to the formation of such a constellation'.[1] Such expressions could be well explained in the light of the social institutions of the village, the dominant feature of which is that the individual in his 'growing up' finds himself constantly coming up against authority and power, and therefore his orientation for achievement of social or psychological independence is grossly hampered. Paradoxically enough, the villagers' vulnerability and hypersensitivity to the feeling of 'dependence' on social or economic levels are very intense. To remind someone of help rendered to him is a positive insult; and it is disgraceful to work as a hired labourer. 'The repudiation of dependency is surely making a virtue of necessity.' The individual's craving for power manifests itself in such social norms as refusal to accept compensation, generosity which implies giving without being asked, so that the receiver would not be dependent or obliged to give back; otherwise it is a reciprocal type of give and take, making the receiver a debtor. To this virtue of repudiating dependency may be attributed the excessive insistence while offering, with excessive reluctance in accepting anything, whether a cigarette or an invitation to food. This almost ritualistic feature governs the etiquette of behaviour in many situations where interpersonal relationships are involved.

The third theme which occurs in some of the tales is that of revenge and retaliation to 'clear one's name' from shame ('ar) (stories IX, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII). In these tales, even Jiha, the insignificant man, must take revenge on his detractors. With this, there is emphasis on trickery and chicanery to achieve one's ends and to outdo one's enemies. Such themes, according to Kardiner, are indications of emotional tensions of people who 'oscillate between uninhibited self-glorification and constant anxiety of being outdone and humiliated'.[2] As in Japan, a slur darkens one's good name and has to be removed without a compromise, although in Silwa there are no cases of suicide ever reported as a means of ridding oneself from shame as such an act would constitute a major sin.[3] One may attribute this sensitive development of the ego to situations of excessive sibling rivalry, and the unevenness of the process of 'growing up', where severe disciplines are imposed during childhood, and severe sexual restrictions and sex dichotomy during adolescence, in contrast with a permissive infancy-training system.[4]

[1] Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*, p. 133.
[2] A. Kardiner, op. cit., p. 117.
[3] See Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, p. 145.
[4] See J. F. Ritchie, 'The African as a Suckling and as Adult', *Rhodes-Livingstone Papers*, No. 9, 1943, for the effects of an uneven process of 'growing up' on adult behaviour and personality development from a psycho-analytical point of view.

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The writer is however aware that his surmise concerning the stimulation of memory in the village's culture is neither fully documented nor based on experimental data as was that of Nadel's experiments to ascertain the differences in cognitive processes between the school children of the two neighbouring tribes, the Yoruba and the Nupe.[1]

Moreover, the writer cannot comment on the effect of such a cultivation of the habits of rote memory on the individual's character structure. That there is a relationship between the method of learning and the individual's attitude towards himself, and his interpretations of experience, is claimed by Bateson and Mead. They maintain that if the individual is brought up in habits of rote memory 'his character will be profoundly different from what would result from habits of learning by insight'.[2]

It can also be shown than the interests and imagination of children are tied down to concrete things and events such as food, animals, ceremonies, farm work, and so forth. It was found that the majority of their responses to story completion, free drawings and in Rorschach testing were highly impregnated with concrete realism.[3] One cannot fail to notice that both

[1] Nadel, from his experiments with story recounting and responses to pictures on some children of those two tribes, concluded that a people possessing a highly developed realistic art and drama, and a rich, complicated, and rationalized religious system, is characterized in the field of psychological reaction by stress on rational elements, logical cohesion, and strongly pronounced meaning-oriented approach as to what is presented to them. On the other hand, a people whose culture lacks such art and drama and whose religious beliefs are centred round abstract and impersonal principles, are psychologically different in the sense that they are more detached and inconsequent in observation and memory, enumerative, more sensitive to spatial and temporal arrangement, stressing unity of situation and emotional tone rather than facts and meaning and rational consistency. 'A Field Experiment in Racial Psychology', in *British Journal of Psychology*, Vol. XXVIII, 1937–8, pp. 195–211.

R. H. Thouless, experimenting on the perception of twenty Indian students and a group of British students, concludes that the former group showed a significantly greater tendency towards 'phenomenal regression' to the real object than the latter group. For instance, in the case of the Indian students there was greater tendency for circular objects inclined to the observer to be drawn as wide ellipses, for parallel-sided objects with the sides receding from the observer to be represented as parallel, and for objects of the same real size at different distances to be drawn with very little difference in size. 'A Racial Difference in Perception', in *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. IV, 1933, pp. 330–9.

[2] Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead, *The Balinese Character*, p. 84.

[3] For typical examples of story completion and Rorschach responses, see appendices.

As to free drawings, the writer has on two occasions asked pupils in the compulsory school to draw whatever they wanted to, and the following is a list of the subjects drawn: oranges, girls carrying baskets on their heads, a boy tending sheep, a car and a palm tree, a boy riding a donkey and a car behind him, a girl feeding a chicken, fish, a car with people gathered around it, palm tree and water, two boys racing on donkey back, ducks, a house, a trader selling sugar to a girl, lemons, bananas and oranges, a man cutting sugar-cane, a boy climbing a palm tree, a girl beating a tambourine, a ceremonial procession near the mosque, a farewell procession for a pilgrim.

When I asked some of the children about their drawings, none of them told me of any plot in the drawing. They were purely representative of things and concrete events. The children's drawings were characterized by the almost entire absence of 'landscape' in

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the Koran at least, and the passing of an entrance examination in Arabic, arithmetic and drawing.

Yet compulsory education in Silwa, and probably in the rest of the country, has not been fully accepted by the rural people, and on the whole has been a failure, both quantitatively and qualitatively. I have not met any one of the villagers in Silwa who was enthusiastic about the educational role of the compulsory school. Although the compulsory school teaches parts of the Koran and includes religious instruction in its curriculum, the villagers do not think that it has the proper religious atmosphere which the Kuttab on the other hand provides. In spite of the fact that the teachers themselves are respected by the villagers, the latter quite often refer to the school as 'that place where they teach "wazan" ', the first word in the reader. In the emotional overtone of ridicule implied in the word 'wazan' the villagers themselves have diagnosed the main weakness of the compulsory school which confines itself to the teaching of the three R's—religious instruction, drawing and poems and songs in the classical Arabic (nasheed). Even for the children themselves, the compulsory school seems somewhat exotic, being the place where they learn drawing and singing. On the whole, the acceptance of school as a contributor to the village life has been vitiated by limiting its scope to abolishing illiteracy, and by the irrelevance of its aims and methods to the actual life of the villagers.

It is not surprising, then, that the villagers consider the sending of their children to the elementary school as a waste of time, and try by every means to evade attendance. I have seen quite a few names on the list of those eligible for compulsory schooling after which the village Omda or Sheikhs have signed a declaration that a particular child has left the village for an unknown place. The problem of regular attendance is, of course, a baffling one, both for the teaching staff who keep notifying the parents, as well as the police courts.[1] The dilemma of the two teachers from the village is most acute since they usually find themselves torn between their official duty and their obligations in handling cases of absenteeism from the school. This, in fact, creates a lot of friction between the school teachers and the villagers. Parents come to the school trying to make excuses for their children's absence, or to withdraw them from it for the rest of the day for a pressing task as if the children were in the Kuttab. It is interesting to note here that according to the school records the attendance has certainly improved in the village school since the provision of a midday meal for the school children, a scheme which started in 1942 and was in operation in Silwa in 1947. At present, it is applied throughout all the compulsory schools in the country.[2]

[1] The statistics of the Elementary Education Department show that in 1939–40 the average attendance in compulsory schools in the whole country was about 60 per cent of the total registered numbers (Al-Kabbani, op. cit., p. 33). In the village, absence from school, or from the Kuttab, is extremely high during weeks of irrigation and time of harvest when there is much work to be done in the fields.

[2] The following is a list of the items of food provided to a child per week:

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evaluate such institutions purely from the point of view of their immediate economic rationality and not as means of 'mutual adjustment of purposes in a total situation'. In such above-mentioned occasions, one can hardly fail to note the social values connected with prestige and the elements of reciprocity embodied in these forms of celebrations. Moreover, one cannot ignore the validity of their educative and cohesive functions. Since reciprocity is one of the major stabilizing forces in this community, its importance requires 'spinning out', since 'a solitary presentation of the principle would be ineffective'.[1] The economic method of interpreting social phenomena is one devised by particular workers as a means of considering such phenomena in the light of their particular field, and cannot be accepted as the whole or the sole explanation. The rationality of ceremonies and the functionalism of the extended family must be interpreted in the light of the community's social ends. In this connection, Firth remarks that '. . . economic activity is subordinate to social ends. It is only by studying those ends that one can see how particular economic systems work'.[2] It was pointed out how social and religious values render dealing in usury, or acceptance of compensation, repulsive to the moral code of this community. On the other hand, social prestige and rivalry combined with a weak ego-structure would explain why law-suits about land or other quarrels can be pursued with seemingly endless effort and expense, to the extent that such procedures might cost both sides more than the market value of the object under dispute.

Failure to assess social facts in their total cultural perspective has often militated against the best intentions of reformers. Compulsory education in terms of abolishing illiteracy has yielded negligible results, as shown earlier, even compared with the expenditure allocated to it. It has been related to neither the cultural needs nor the technical skills required in rural communities. Campaigns against infectious diseases must take into account the fact that, to the villagers, fear of contagion is subordinate to the rendering of reciprocal social obligation connected with sickness. The preference for reserving and offering the 'best food' to guests or strangers rather than be eaten by the members of the family for its 'nutritional value' must be viewed and understood first in terms of 'the people's values' concerning hospitality and generosity.

The adherence to traditional customs, beliefs, ways of thinking and living is the basis of the peasants' psychological security. That peasants rigidly adhere to their traditions and do not listen to 'reason' as explained to them by scientists or government officials has its root cause in this

[1] S. F. Nadel, *Foundations of Social Anthropology*, p. 400. It is worth noting that in this community, as well as in many other parts of Egypt, the standardized social comments are legion as are also the respective responses in occasions of work, eating, drinking, building a house, after having a haircut, after toilet, on wearing new clothes, after having a bath, and on many other occasions for which good manners necessitate a particular expression or ejaculation and responding to it in a particular way.

[2] R. Firth, *Elements of Social Organization*, p. 153.

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and reciprocal obligations counterbalancing the competitive tendencies within the community.[1]

The vulnerability to tension and friction not only characterizes the constituent social groupings, but obtains in the realm of the interpersonal relationships. Throughout this work reference has been made to attitudes of reserve, constriction, and suspicion prevailing in personal relations. Hearty laughter is rare, and it usually occurs amongst adults in their sarcastic allusions to others, and in belittling their esteem, while apparently seeming to praise them. Suspicion of the evil intentions of others is institutionalized in the evil eye, seeing potential danger in practically everybody. The small family guards its private affairs with great caution, especially its misfortunes, for fear that others may exult or gloat at their expense, or find some way of attacking their moral integrity. The almost morbid fear of shame, the excessive touchiness, the frequent resort to the use of oaths and swearing, the exaggerated expressions of language, and the scrupulous attitude towards food, are all symptoms of a type of personal relationships which could not legitimately be described as intimate and smooth.[2] The impressions I received from those with whom I came in contact during my field work was that the villagers mutually describe each other as greedy, envious, and malicious and, as they usually put it, 'people would distribute your property while you are alive . . .'

Such character traits cannot be taken, as some psycho-analysts would maintain that they could, as indications of neurotic personalities. They are specific adjustments of individuals, and could be attributed to hard realities of economic life, to historical forces of oppression (which perhaps have made the fellah regard authority, for example, with suspicion) and to certain affective energies resulting from child-rearing practices.

Such character traits, and a climate of uneasiness and tension in the interpersonal relationships, have also been reported among the Navaho Indians and the Tepoztlanians.[3]

In this research the writer has become more than ever convinced of the great value derived from the study of 'personality' in both its social and psychological dimensions. Social norms, value systems, religious beliefs, and status, determine directly and appreciably the social behaviour of the individual and are amongst the most stabilizing factors of personality.[4]

[1] This interpretation is based on M. Fortes' 'Ritual Festivals and Social Cohesion in the Hinterland of the Gold Coast', in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1936, p. 604.

[2] With regard to the exaggerated use of language E. Shouby says: 'Arabs are forced to over-assert and exaggerate in almost all types of communication, as otherwise they stand a good chance of being gravely misunderstood. If an Arab says exactly what he means without the expected exaggeration, other Arabs may still think that he means the opposite.' See his article 'Influence of Arabic Language on Arab Psychology', in *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. V, Summer, 1951, pp. 284–302.

[3] Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village*, Chapter XIV.

[4] Audrey I. Richards, in a review of 'Personality in Nature, Society and Culture', in *Man*, January 1951.

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REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Questions of motivation, drive, adjustment, frustration, methods of learning, reaction to authority, modes of fantasy gratification, and the end-product of all these forces in the ego-structure are important elements in the study of personality. In this study it was discussed how the social disciplines contribute to produce submissive, obedient children who lack the spirit of enterprise and initiative. Adults continuously wean their offspring from flights of imagination and spontaneity of action till they almost completely achieve their end by the time their offspring reach adolescence. Mead emphasizes the importance of the cultural methods of socialization as: 'The child will have as an adult the imprint of his culture upon him whether his society hands him the tradition with a shrug, throws it at him like a bone to a dog, teaches him each item with care and anxiety or leads him towards manhood as if he were on a sight-seeing tour. But which method his society uses will have far-reaching results in the attitudes of the growing child, upon the way he phrases the process of growing up, upon the resentment or enthusiasm with which he meets the inevitable social pressure from the adult world.'[1]

One of the important psychological mechanisms in the personality of individuals in the community culture of Silwa is the conception of the power of fate, a mechanism which is found in many other peasant communities. According to Kardiner such a mechanism is a tendency to shift personal responsibility on to others or on to supernatural forces. The prevalence of such a tendency is a cultural mode of displacing dependency on parent-surrogates, and thus escaping blame and punishment. With belief in fate one can correlate the presence of very little anxiety about sickness, misfortunes such as divorce, and indifference to self-improvement. It could be said that conditions of closed economy, together with the stifling weight of social and parental pressures, may be considered as important factors in this projective mechanism of fate. In a masterly passage about the Tanala culture of Madagascar, Kardiner maintains that: 'The belief in fate—singularly effective in shunting direct envy and overt-hostility—is a monument to the underlying absolutism which characterizes the culture. It shifts the responsibility from those who actually have power or advantages and places it upon a kind of mechanistic conception of human destiny. The chief function of the belief is to compel the individual to accept his role in life, and not bother those who exploit him, though he is given some right to attempt to alter his fate by magic means. If this fails, he has only fate to blame.'[2] Such is an illustration of the contribution that psychology could make to deepen our understanding of social facts.

In this work certain methods and techniques of childhood and adolescent training systems were correlated with some aspects of the cultural behaviour of adults and some of the major trends in their personality structure. In discerning such correlations, functional ties between certain

[1] Margaret Mead, *Growing up in New Guinea*, p. 168.
[2] A. Kardiner, *The Individual and his Society*, p. 314.

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Appendix One

THE LIFE HISTORY OF INFORMANTS

GENERAL REMARKS

In writing the life history of my informants—Ali (who is a distant relative) and Mahmoud (who is related by marriage)—I found very little direct information forthcoming from them. Although their confidence was won with respect to their forthrightness in describing the village life and traditions, both were very reserved in talking about their own life. Neither relished the idea of being singled out from the whole village, or being mentioned in a book. 'Why do you want to portray my life especially, and bring it before the English people?' said Mahmoud. 'Let us (in Arabic the plural pronoun is commonly used instead of the first singular) live covered and unexposed in our village; we do not want other people to know about the details of our life.' The writer realized this difficulty from the very beginning of his work, and tried to convince the villagers, as well as the informants, that such research had nothing to do with the Government or any other official authority in Egypt and might bring indirect benefit to them, for the suspicion had to be eradicated that anything written might be taken as a personal commitment, causing as much anxiety to the persons concerned as if they were giving evidence in a court of law. This difficulty rose again in the Rorschach testing of adults, whom the writer had to assure and even sometimes to swear by the name of Allah that this would not subject them to any official pressure or interference.

ALI

Ali, being literate, was asked to write down all he could remember of his life-story, the account of which is translated in the following:

'I was born in 1921, just a few days before the "Mawlid", the birth anniversary of the Prophet. I cannot remember anything in my life till the age of seven, except that I used to follow my older brother to the Kuttab from the age of five, and play with boys of my age. On reaching the age of seven, I started to go regularly all by myself to the Kuttab. In 1929 I began to go to the elementary school in the morning, and to the Kuttab in the afternoon, and I remained in the school until 1936, when

[P.240 is blank]

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Appendix Eight

THE STEWART EMOTIONAL RESPONSE TEST

SAMPLES OF TEST RESPONSES

125 Tests have been recently adopted by some social anthropologists:

1. To provide quick means for collecting useful material in relatively little time.
2. To draw the attention of the field worker to data which otherwise might escape notice.
3. To be used as an objective check on one's own impressions, especially in the field of culture-personality relationship.
4. To provide means of quantitative analysis.

Tests, however, must be interpreted in their cultural context. Leighton and Kluckhohn assert that tests hold considerable promise in anthropological research, but owing to their present state of imperfection, must be used in conjunction with material obtained by the usual anthropological techniques of observation and interview.[1]

1. The Stewart Emotional Response Test

159 This test is a series of questions asking for experiences associated with
125 five emotions: happiness, sadness, fear, anger, and shame, one question asking for the best thing that could happen to the child, and another asking for the worst that could happen.[2] After administering the test on twelve children, the responses of the following five children were chosen on the grounds of being the most complete performance. Three boys disclaimed their experience of such emotions, while others gave confused answers.

No girls' responses are recorded here. I found them most frustrating in
● [156] this respect, except in the Rorschach ink-blots. Young girls were 'giggly'; older ones were shy and uneasy. Their way out was 'I don't know; I am not a man'. They probably refused to co-operate because the tests were first administered on the boys from whom they heard about them. After

[1] D. Leighton and C. Kluckhohn, *Children of the People*, p. 227.
[2] Ibid., p. 247.